

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY OSLO
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 6337

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SP
SUBJECT: ELECTORAL MATTERS

1. MORE ATTENTION IS BEING PAID TO ELECTIONS, A SIGN
THAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION HAS EVOLVED CONSIDERABLY,
E.G., "EL PAIS" HAS REPORTED THAT THE DRAFTING OF AN
ELECTORAL LAW MAY TAKE A HIGHER PRIORITY FOR THE SUAREZ
GOVT. "EL PAIS'S" SOURCES SUGGEST THAT THE GOVT MAY BE
CONSIDERING PUSHING AN ELECTORAL LAW THROUGH THE CORTES
AS A TEST OF WHETHER THE CORTES, IN FACT, WOULD BEHAVE
PROPERLY IF A PROPOSAL FOR A REFERENDUM WERE PUT TO IT.

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2. OUR OWN UNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN THAT THE ELECTORAL

LAW WOULD COME AFTER THE REFERENDUM, AND "EL PAIS"
IN PART IS BASING ITS STORY ON THE BELIEF (ACCURATE)
THAT ONE DRAFT OF AN ELECTORAL LAW HAD BEEN DRAWN UP--IN
FACT BEFORE THE CHANGE IN GOVT.

3. PEOPLE ARE ALSO TALKING MORE AND MORE--OFTEN IN
A CONFUSED, HIGHLY PERSONAL WAY--ABOUT ELECTORAL
ALLIANCES. ONE VIEW OF WHAT MIGHT EMERGE--OF INTEREST
BECAUSE IT HAS A CONCEPTUAL RATIONALE AND BECAUSE THE
ASSUMPTIONS ARE CLEARLY STATED--WAS RECENTLY GIVEN
TO US BY THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ.
FERNANDEZ ASSUMES THAT, IF THE GOVT REACHES SOME TACIT
ACCOMMODATION WITH THE PCE (PERMITTING CERTAIN OVERT
PCE ACTIVITIES, SHORT OF ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION, AND
LEGALIZATION AT SOME FUTURE DATE), THREE MAJOR ELECTORAL
BLOCS WOULD EMERGE:
--A GOVT-BACKED DEMOCRATIC CONSERVATIVE "CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATIC" GROUPING BUILT AROUND THE SPANISH DEMOCRATIC
UNION (UDE), UNION OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE (UDPE), AND SOME
OF THE "TACITO" GROUP. MINISTER OF THE PRESIDENCY
OSORIO WOULD BE A PRIME MOVER BEHIND THIS CENTER-RIGHT
BLOC, AND PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ WOULD LIKELY BE ITS PRINCIPAL
FIGURE. (EVEN THOUGH SUAREZ AND THE UDPE HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY
BEEN IDENTIFIED WITH CDS, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS). A FRAGA
AREILZA EFFORT IN THE CENTER IS ALSO A NEAR-CERTAINTY, BUT
FERNANDEZ SEES THEM DISADVANTAGED BY THEIR ISOLATION FROM THE
GOVT AND ITS POLITICAL RESOURCES.--A CENTER/CENTER-LEFT COALITION OF
LEFT-LIBERALS,
OPPOSITION CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.
THIS COALITION WOULD BRING TOGETHER SUCH GROUPS AS THE
FIVE PARTY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC "EQUIPO," SOME
"TACITOS," THE RECENTLY-FORMED SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
FEDERATION AND SOME EXISTING LIBERAL PARTIES, LIKE
IGNACIO CAMUNAS' POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
--A SOCIALIST BLOC BUILT AROUND THE SPANISH SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY (PSOE), AND INCLUDING TIerno GALVAN'S
INSIGNIFICANT POPULAR SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) AND THE
FEDERATION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES (FSP), WHICH FERNANDEZ
CONSIDERS THE PSOE'S "LEFT WING."
--THER MIGHT WELL BE AN RIGHT-WING ELECTORAL
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GROUPING, BUT IT SHOULD FARE POORLY IF THE GOVT DOES ITS
JOB OF PROMOTING THE CONSERVATIVE CD COALITION PROPERLY.
IF, SOMEHOW, THE COMMUNISTS ARE ABLE TO PRESENT CANDIDATES--
THROUGH A FRONT GROUP, FOR INSTANCE--THEY SHOULD
NOT DO WELL IN THIS FIRST CONTEST EITHER.

4. IF NO GOVT-PCE MODUS VIVENDI IS REACHED, FERNANDEZ
FEARS THE OPPOSITION WILL BE COMPELLED TO PRESENT ONE

UNIFIED ELECTORAL SLATE AGAINST THE "GOVT SLATE"
THEREBY MAKING THE ELECTION LOOK VERY MUCH LIKE THE
POPULAR FRONT-NATIONAL FRONT CONTESTS OF THE THIRTIES,
WITH ALL THIS IMPLIES FOR GOVT-OPPOSITION COOPERATION
IN CARRYING OUT THE TRANSITION. (COMMENT: THIS IS
LESS PERSUASIVE: WHILE WE DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSI-
BILITY OF A SINGLE MAJOR OPPOSITION SLATE, CURRENT TRENDS
POINT TO THE PRESENTATION OF COMPETING PARTY OR
COALITION SLATES FROM PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION SECTORS.
THE MAJOR OPPOSITION GROUPINGS, SUCH AS THE PSOE,
CERTAINLY DESIRE TO PRESENT THEIR OWN ELECTORAL LISTS
AND WOULD LIKELY FALL BACK TO A SINGLE, UNIFIED
OPPOSITION SLATE ONLY IN EXTREMIS.)
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